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# Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
---------- 073425
O 211745Z FEB 76
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5962
INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 0660

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, KS, KN
SUBJECT: KOREA AT 31ST UNGA: QUESTION OF PRIORITY FOR FRIENDLY
RESOLUTION AND RELATED MATTERS

REF: (A) SEOUL 1227 (B) STATE 037573

1. SUMMARY:

OUR PRELIMINARY VIEW IS THAT PRIORITY IS UNLIKELY TO HAVE SAME IMPORTANCE FOR OUR SIDE AT 31ST GA AS IN PAST. PRIORITY ASSUMED IMPORTANCE WHEN OUR OBJECTIVE WAS APPROVAL OF FRIENDLY RESOLUTION AND DEFEAT OF HOSTILE TEXT. WHILE WE WILL STRIVE BY ALL SUITABLE MEANS TO SIDETRACK EXPECTED HOSTILE PROPOSAL, WE AGREE WITH WASHINGTON'S ASSESSMENT THAT OUTRIGHT DEFEAT OF HOSTILE RESOLUTION IS NOT REALISTIC GOAL. IF THAT IS SO, PRIORITY WOULD HAVE LESS SIGNIFICANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. DECISION TO GO FOR PRPORITY ENTAILS CERTAIN CONSEQUENCES: (A) IT WOULD REQUIRE OUR SIDE TO TAKE INITIATIVE IN FIRST SEEKING INCLUSION OF FRIENDLY ITEM ON PROVISIONAL AGENDA FOR 31ST GA. THIS WOULD SEEM INCONSISTENT WITH OUT POSITION (REF (B) PARA 6) THAT IN ABSENCE OF DISCUSSIONS AMONG STATES PRINCIPALLY CONCERNED (THE SECRETARY'S PROPOSAL), GENERAL ASSEMBLY DISCUSSION WILL ONLY WORSEN PROSPECTS FOR RAPPROACHEMENT. (B) SINCE PRIORITY WOULD REQUIRE INDEPENDENT FRIENDLY AGENDA ITEM,
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DECISION TO GO FOR PRIORITY NOT ONLY COULD REQUIRE EARLY

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ACTION TO INSCRIBE ITEM ON PROVISIONAL AGENDA BUT WOULD RISK
DEFEAT IN GENERAL COMMITTEE WHEN THAT COMMITTEE DECIDES TO
RECOMMEND FOR OR AGAINST INSCRIPTION. LAST YEAR WE OBTAINED
RECOMMENDATION IN FAVOR OF INSCRIPTION OF OUR TIEM BY ONLY
ONE VOTE; A DEFEAT WOULD, IN OUR JUDGEMENT, HAVE CRITICALLY
HARMED THE POSSIBILITY OF GEETING THE FRIENDLY RESOLUTION
THROUGH THE GA. WITH THE 25-MEMBER GENERAL COMMITTEE'S
COMPOSITION OFTEN UNDECIDED UNTIL THE FINAL MOMENT, WE SHOULD
WANT TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY DESIRABILITY OF RUNNING THIS KIND
OF RISK UNLESS SOME REAL GAIN IS OBTAINABLE BY DOING SO.
(TO EXPLAIN FURTHER, IF WE SHOULD DECIDE AGAINST WORKING FOR
PRIORITY, OUR SIDE COULD ACQUIESCE IN RECOMMENDATION BY
GENERAL COMMITTEE TO INSCRIBE EXPECTED HOSTILE ITEM; IN THE
GENERAL COMMITTEE WE COULD SEEK ONLY TO RECORD AN INTENTION
POSSIBLY TO PUT FORWARD OUR OWN PROPOSALS, QUITE DIFFERENT
THAN THOSE OF THE DPRK GROUP, UNDER "THEIR" PROBABLY IN-
APPROPRIATELY WORDED ITEM WHEN THE MATTER IS TAKEN UP IN THE
FIRST COMMITTEE. OTHER (ASEANS, GROUP OF 13, ETC)
COULD DO THE SAME.) (C) A THIRD CONSEQUENCE OF SEEKING
PRIORITY IS THAT IT REQUIRES US TO LOBBY FOR TWO PRINCIPAL
FORMS OF SUPPORT, NAMELY ON PROCEDURE A VOTE TO RETAIN
PRIORITY FOR THE FRIENDLY RESOLUTION AS AGAINST A LIKELY
DPRK GROUP CHALLENGE, AND ON SUBSTANCE BY A VOTE IN FAVOR
OF OUR RESOLUTION. ON OTHER HAND, IF WE HAVE DECIDED NOT
TO MOVE PRIORITY, LOBBYING WILL CONCENTRATE ALMOST EXCLUSIVE-
LY ON BUILDING VOTES FOR FRIENDLY RESOLUTION. (WE WOULD
NEED TO SEEK SUPPORT ON PROCEDURE ONLY AS AGAINST A DPRK
GROUP "BLOCKING" MOVE, I.E.. AFTER FIRST COMMITTEE
(OR PLENARY) HAS VOTED ON THE HOSTILE RESOLUTION, A
HOSTILE MOTION THAT BODY DECIDE NOT TO VOTE ON OUR RES-
OLUTION. HOWEVER, SINCE WE ESTIMATE "BLOCKING" TO BE IN-
HERENTLY UNPOPULAR WITHIN THE BROAD MEMBERSHIP, THE OTHER
SIDE COULD NOT LIKELY PUT TOGETHER A "BLOCKING" MAJORITY.)

3. FOR REASONS OF THIS CHARACTER, OUR VIEW AS OF THIS DATE
IS THAT QUESTION OF PRIORITY IS LIKELY TO BE OF CONSIDERABLY
LESS IMPORTANCE TO ATTAINMENT OF US/ROK OBJECTIVES DURING
31ST SESSION THAN IN PAST. WE WOULD, THOUGH, WANT TO GET
OPINION OF CORE GROUP HERE.

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4. A COMPLICATING FACTOR AT 31ST UNGA MAY
BE A HOSTILE CHAIRMANSHIP OF FIRST COMMITTEE. LAST YEAR
WE HAD THE IMPARTIAL BUT SYMPATHETIC CHAIRMANSHIP OF
AMBASSADOR GHORRA OF LEBANON, IN 1974 OF AMBASSADOR ORTIZ DE
ROZAS OF ARGENTINA, AND IN 1973, THE YEAR OF THE CONSENSUS
STATEMENT, OF AMBASSADOR BOUCH OF DENMARK. PRELIMINARY
INDICATIONS ARE THAT IN 1976 AN EASTERN EUROPEAN, POLAND,
MAY BE ELECTED AS CHAIRMAN; POLAND HAS FORMALLY SUB-

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MITTED ITS CANDIDACY. A HOSTILE CHAIRMAN IN A PARLIAMENTARY
BODY WHERE VOTE IS RELATIVELY EVENLY DIVIDED ON INTENSELY
PERCEIVED ISSUSE CAN PLAY A SIGNIFICANTLY ADVERSE ROLE, THE
MORE SO, WE WOULD EXPECT, AS HIS ACTIONS WOULD BE SUBTLE
RATHER THAN OVERLY PARTISAN. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, IF WE
DECIDE AGAINST A KOREAN ITEM OF OUR OWN, WE WILL NEED TO BE
PREPARED TO CONTEND WITH A DPRK GROUP REQUEST TO THE CHAIR
TO RULE A U.S. OR OTHER DRAFT RESOLUTION OUT OF ORDER AS
BEYOND THE TERMS OF THE ITEM AS FRAMED AND INSCRIBED. WE
BELIEVE AN ADVERSE RULING AVOIDABLE, GIVEN SUFFICIENT LEGWORK
WITH SECRETARIAT AND CHAIRMAN, BUT NOTE POSSI-
BILITY AS AN EXAMPLE OF PROBLEMS A HOSTILE CHAIRMANSHIP
MAY POSE.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 0660

EXDIS

5. RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH INDONESIAN AND AUSTRIAN
MISSION OFFICERS REVEALED THAT GROUP OF 13 IS MORIBUND AT
LEAST FOR TIME BEING. INDONESIAN REPORTED ASEANS "FED
UP WITH KOREA AT UNGA" FOLLOWING "INCESSANT" BADGERING AND
STIFF REBUFFS NORTHS KOREANS GAVE THEM LAST FALL. AUSTRIAN
COMMENTED THAT "ENERGIZERS" OF GROUP OF 13 AT 30TH UNGA,
SUCH AS SWEDEN'S HECKSCHER AND THAILAND'S ANAND, NO LONGER
IN NEW YORK AND GROUP TOTALLY INACTIVE. INDONESIAN ATTACHED
NO SIGNIFICANCE TO INCLUSION OF KOREA ON DRAFT AGENDA FOR
NONALIGNED SUMMIT AS FAR AS INDONESIA IS CONCERNED.
HE SAID THAT A RESOLUTION ON KOREA MAY BE "RAILROADED"
THROUGH AT COLOMBO, BUT RESOLUTION " NOT BINDING". HE
STRESSED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT NONALIGNED COUNTRIES NO
LONGER ARE A "COHESIVE" GROUP POLITICALLY.

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6. JUDGING FROM AUSTRIAN AND INDONESIAN REMARKS, SOME
INITIATIVE FROM OUR SIDE MAY BE NECESSARY TO REVIVE "GROUP
OF 13" ACTIVITY ON KOREA SHOULD WE CONSIDER THIS DESIRABLE.
WE ARE UNCERTAIN, HOWEVER, THAT ONLY WAY TO STIMULATE GROUP
OF 13 WILL BE IF APPEARANCE OF HOSTILE RESOLUTION IS MET BY
ACTION ON OUR SIDE TO PUT FORWARD OUR OWN PROPOSAL, SUB-
STANCEOF WHICH IS AT OTHER END OF CONTINUUM. WHILE MATTER
IS HIGHLY SPECULATIVE, IT MIGHT JUST BE THAT GROUP OF 13
WOULD FEEL LESS INHIBITED IN ABSENCE OF U.S. PROPOSAL.

7. MISSION OFFICERS OF FELLOW CORE GROUP MEMBERS U.K.,
JAPAN, AND ROK HAVE ALL EMPHASIZED TO US RECENTLY AND
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INDIVIDUALLY IMPORTANCE TO BE ATTACHED TO ARMISTICE AGREE-
MENT AND NEED FOR MOST CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF ANY STEPS
RELATING TO ITS CONTINUED OPERATION. ACCORDINGLY, THE
GENERAL VIEW ON OUR SIDE MAY EMERGE THAT THIS YEAR WE SHOULD
AVOID DETAILS OF UNC, ARMISTICE AGREEMENT, AND
THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN KOREA IN ANY FRIENDLY RESOLU-
TION, AND SHOULD INSTEAD, OPT FOR TEXT WHICH INVOLVES
CALL IN MOST IMMEDIATE, DIRECT AND HIGH-LEVEL-OF
GENERALIZATION TERMS FOR TALKS BETWEEN THE PARTIES
DIRECTLY CONCERNED (AGAIN, ON LINES OF THE SECRETARY'S
PROPOSAL). IN THIS REGARD, DECISIONS ON MOVING FOR
PRIORITY AND ON OPTIMUM SUBSTANCE OF OUR OWN OR OTHER
(E.G. GROUP OF 13) RESOLUTION WOULD SEEM TO US TO INTER-
RELATE.

8. QUESTION OF MAINTENANCE OF SUPPORT FOR OUR POSITION
ARISE SHOULD WWE DECIDE AGAINST MOVING FOR PRIORITY AND
AGSINST INSCRIBING FRIENDLY ITEM. GIVEN POSSIBILITIES
FOR ENERGETIC LOBBYING AS SET FORTH IN REF (B) AND FOR
COMMUNICATING PERIODICALLY WITH U.N. REGARDING U.N. COMMAND,
THERE WOULD APPEAR TO US GOOD OPPORTUNITIES TO KEEP OUR
REASONED AND RESPONSIBLE POSITION WELL IN FOREFRONT.

9. AS TO CORE GROUP COMPOSITION, WE WOULD SUPPORT AUSTRALIA,
BELGIUM CANADA, COSTA RICA, FRANCE, FRG, THE NETHERLANDS,
NEW ZEALAND, ROK, UK, AND URUGUAY AS CANDIDATES:
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